2: Timoshenko S-4, 5 (no date) 1919 RD1 Ukraine RD2

Ukraine and Russia

A Survey of Their Economic Relations

It has long been contended that the Ukraine could not exist as a separate state. It is said her economic interests are so largely dependent upon those of the old Russian Empire that if separated therefrom, she would lack the economic strength to form a viable entity, and thus would render herself liable to decline or gradual absorption by some other state. In the light of present facts, both economists and impartial statesmen will find that this argument, which, among members of the opposing faction, seems to form the primary basis for objection to Ukraine's independent statehood, will not bear even the most superficial investigation.

Ukraine's Richness in Natural Resources

The Ukraine is a country with nearly 50,000,000 inhabitants, and possesses within its limits the most fertile lands of Europe, which, every year, feed the western countries from their enormous surplus of cereals, of cattle and of sugar. It is a country which stands fifth in the world in its production of coal and iron; which has at its disposal quantities of other raw materials, such as naphtha, magnesia, salt and mercury; which has, moreover, several hundred kilometers of water front. If, with all these natural advantages and wealth, the Ukraine cannot enjoy an autonomous life, how, then, can one explain the existence of Italy, Spain, Roumania and many other European countries in which the natural conditions are far less favorable to economic independence?

These facts have gradually become so self-evident to the public mind that oppositionists are being forced to abandon their former line of argument, and are now beginning to attack the question from the reverse standpoint. They now claim, not that Ukraine cannot form and maintain her economic unity, but that Russia cannot live without Ukraine, and that, without Ukraine, Russia would lack

137 Oaks and hornbeams grow plentifully in the zone of transition between forest and the steppe while the pine prefers sandy river valleys. Vegetation in the mountains corresponds to that in western surroundings. The vast mountain pastures deserve special mention. On the coast of the Crimea and the Caucasus we find the buttertree, the cypress, the stone pine, the laurel, opuntias, agaves and other Mediterranean plants.

136 Prevalent animal species vary only slightly from those found in neighboring countries in the west. Worthy of mention are wild-cat, ermine, and bison in the forest region, bear, lynx and wild-cat in the Carpathians. In the Yaila mountains there are vultures. The Caucasus has the greatest variety of animals. It is still possible there to hunt ibex, jackals and ure-ox. On the southern slopes there are even panthers. Numerous rodents live in the steppes. The ure-ox, the beaver and the marmot are dying out.

3. Population.

a) Density

161 In 1939 the average density of the population in Ukraine was 68 persons per sq. kilometer. In the central forest-steppe zone, one of the most thickly populated agrarian areas in Europe, 80—120 people live on a sq. kilometer, between the Syan and Kursk. Northern Ukraine with its lighter soil is much more thinly populated; here the average density amounts to 40—60 persons per sq. kilometer, and in Polesya this figure even falls below 25. The density of the population in Southern Ukraine corresponds roughly to that in the north, though the Donets basin is an isolated area of dense population. The Caucasus foothills, a country with a climate at least as favorable as that of Central Ukraine is only two-thirds as densely populated, as it was colonised late. The mountains are thinly populated.

162 361 The majority of the Ukrainian people live in villages; 29 % live in towns and 10 % in cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants; trade and industry are not intensively developed; we are struck by the many towns that have grown up at the frontiers between the various natural areas; there are 60 bet-

ween the forest steppe and the Kholm forests, among them Lutsk, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Kyiv and Konotip. Akkerman, Odessa, Mykolajiv, Kherson, Sevastopil lie on the sea coast. In all there are 18 towns with more than 100 000 inhabitants (statistics dating from 1939 and for Western Ukraine from 1931).

Kyiv	846 000
Kharkiv	833 000
Odessa	604 000
Dnipropetrovske	500 000
Stalino	462 000
Lviv	316 000
Zaporizha	289 000
Mariupil	222 000
Voroshylivhrad	213 000
Kryvyj Rih	198 000
Taganrih	189 000
Symferopil	143 000
Chernivtsi	111 000
Kerch	104 000

b) Movement of population

Movements in the population of Ukraine have been caused by natural increase and emigration and immigration, these movements being more pronounced than elsewhere in Europe.

Natural Increasein 1927 per 1000	Births	Mortality	Actual Increase
USSR	40.3	17.8	22.5
North Caucasia	42.7	17.1	25.6
Crimea	44.7	18.1	26.6
Galicia	31.8	20.3	11.5
Volynia and Polesya	39.4	17.7	19.4
Carpathian Ukraine	37.4	23.3	16.1

The greatest natural increase is to be found in those parts of Ukraine that are most sparsely populated, while the lowest, determined by low birthrate, is provided by Galicia which is over-populated. Increase in purely Ukrainian elements of the population exceeds the average value for other elements inhabiting the same areas of settlement. There are no data on

161 natural increase in the Ukrainian parts of the Soviet Union. The USSR not having issued any statistics. It seems, however, that population was reduced by increased mortality.

161 166 The steady flow of emigration diminished the actual increase of the Ukrainian people. West Ukrainians go to the United States and Canada, the inhabitants of the Dnipro area to the Caucasus and Asia. Movements within the frontiers shift the population slowly to the east and south, these movements being strongest towards the Basin of the Donets and the North Caucasus, and weakest towards the areas on the right banks of the Dnipro and Galicia. There is also a steady flight from the country to the town. In consequence to an increase of the collective system, of famine and flight to the town, the population of the USSR did not grow since 1932; increase of population in the towns was opposed by considerable decrease in the country.

c) National Conditions

182 National conditions in the Ukrainian territory at present have been produced by long and complicated processes which Ukraine was forced to undergo by factors such as her geographical position, the extent of her territory, movements of colonisation, natural increase, migration, lack of an independent government, etc.

In consequence, the national composition of Ukrainian areas is characterised by peculiar features, such as a mixture of nationalities in many provinces, a fairly high percentage of national minorities, a considerable difference from the ethnological point of view between the populations of town and village, and so on.

167 We find different national conditions in the different frontier districts. In the West, the Ukrainian factor receded; the frontier between Ukraine and Poland was regulated in favor of the latter and, what was more important, the entire region of the frontier was settled by Poles who had been pressing east from time immemorial, in the search for better opportunities for their surplus population. The Polish immigration in these districts is

Besides Ukrainians, the area that is ethnographically and nationally Ukrainian counts among its population Russians, Jews, Poles, Germans. The Russians, according to statistics for 1. 1. 1933, amount to 8 million and live in Slobodian Ukraine, the Donets Basin (foreign labor immigration), the coastal areas (agricultural colonies) and, alongside of Ukrainians, in the eastern foothills of the Caucasus. Jews — 3 millions — $^2/_3$ of them in towns, live west of the Dnipro (the boundary of their former settlement under the Tsars), and from 2-3 % of the population of Left Bank Ukraine and less than 1 % in Slobodian Ukraine and the Caucasus. Poles numbering 2 800 000 live in districts that were formerly part of Poland, mainly on the "black earth" belt of Galicia and the Kholm district. The other national minorities are insignificant.

If we study the development of national minorities up to the time of enforced collectivisation, we notice that the Ukrainian element in Dnipro-Ukraine was strengthened, while it receded in Western Ukraine under pressure from the Poles. We cannot tell what changes have taken place in the national element of Soviet Ukraine in recent years, as the results of the last census, held in 1939, have not been published. We can only suppose that Ukrainian national substance has suffered severe losses from the enforced collectivisation, the eviction of Ukrainian peasants, famine, and Russian immigration, especially to the towns and the Donets Basin.

d) Ukrainians outside the boundaries of the ethnographical territory

6 millions, i. e. 13.5 % of the Ukrainian people live without its national territory, 700 000 in islands dispersed throughout neighboring western countries, above all in Batshka while others live as emigrants or laborers, especially in Germany and France. In 1933, there were 300 000 in Roumania, 100 000 in Poland, 40 000 in Czechoslovakia, 50 000 in Jugoslavia and 160 000 in other countries of Europe. 3 % of the Ukrainians — 1.3 millions — are scattered throughout the Soviet Union in Europe; the majority of these live in the lower reaches of the Volga (450 000), the middle reaches of the Volga (220 000), in the republic of

● 161 167 Bashkir (80 000) and the Ural area (50 000). Besides, Ukrainians have been actively colonising Asia, their superiority in numbers as compared with the Russians may be seen in the appended table (statistics from 1926).

Asia	Surface in sqm.	Population in 1000	Ukr.	Russ.	Kas.-Sib.	Others
Kasak in Siberia	174 075	2 240	40	22	27	11
Grey Wedge	12 308	17	29	19	44	8
Green Wedge						
1) Rayon Spask	26 928	232	59	22	—	19
2) Blahovischensk	3 846	86	50	43	—	7

The "Grey wedge" lies between the Khirgisi country and Kasakstan, the "Green wedge" on the Amur and near Spask.

1.3 million Ukrainians live in America (U.S.A. 7—8 000 000, Canada 3-400 000, South America 130 000).

e) Ukrainians in the world

At the end of 1932 there were 43-44 million Ukrainians; as far as numbers go, they are the second of the Slav peoples, and the seventh among European nations. The number of Ukrainians living in the different states towards the end of the years 1938 and 1940 was:

States	Ukrainians in millions	Percentage of Ukrainians in the world
a) 1938	[1]	
Soviet-Union	34.4	79.1
Poland	6.0	13.8
Roumania	1.1	2.5
U.S.A.	0.7	1.6
Czechoslovakia	0.6	1.4
Canada	0.3	0.7
And others	0.4	0.9

[1]) Among these 25.6 millions in Soviet-Ukraine.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine KDl

States	Ukrainians in millions	Percentage of Ukrainians in the world
b) 1940	[3]	
Soviet-Union	40.2	92.4
Germany	0.8	1.8
Hungary	0.6	1.4
U.S.A.	0.7	1.6
Canada	0.3	0.7
And others	0.9	2.1
Total	43.5	100

161 ●
167

[3] Among these 30.7 millions in Soviet-Ukraine.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

II

Economic Life

By the "economy of Ukraine" in the following pages we do not mean the economy of Soviet Ukraine but of the entire Ukrainian territory. It is most difficult to present facts here, as the various sections of Ukrainian territory are not only incorporated in different states but have also varying economic organisations. These difficulties were due primarily to the peculiar character of Soviet statistics. In the statistics for the first two Five Year Plans it is impossible to translate into absolute figures either the real value of the rouble or the percentages given. More entanglements were caused by the inadequacy of data for quantity and quality and the obvious exaggeration of the natural wealth. These factors have been taken into consideration in the following pages.

Basic Problems

1. The area of Ukrainian economy

(far more than a million square kilometers) lies spread out like a fan round the north of the Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv. Almost all its rivers flow into this north-east continuation of the Mediterranean, and Ukraine is the only country in Eastern Europe which they serve. The area includes fertile districts, and valuable mineral wealth; the various sections complement each other economically and communications between them are convenient. With a total population of about 60 millions (59 per sq. kilometer as compared with 8, the average for USSR), it approaches European conditions. So the natural, but not the political, conditions for a grand scale economy are given.

131 Eurasia and the ores in the Ural is more than 2000 km; the
487 coal of the Donets Basin, on the other hand, is about 350—450 km from the iron ore of Kryvyj Rih, while the iron and manganese ores of Kerch are nearer still. The seas in the north of Russia are frozen for 20—26 weeks, while the Black Sea has ice for but 3—4 weeks in the year. Most of its harbors can be kept open all winter by means of ice-breakers. The
● [161] density of the population in Ukraine is 59 to the square kilometer which cannot be compared with the figures for Siberia (1 per sq. km) or with the average for USSR (8). Conditions in Ukraine, therefore, are much more akin to those in Europe than are those in the continental heart of Eurasia some 4000 km away. And for Ukraine this fact found expression, for instance, in the fact that it could not profit from the reduced railway freights that were granted for long-distance transportation. The unfavorable position of Moscow and Leningrad as manufacturing centers was a great handicap to the economy of Ukraine which possessed all the conditions necessary for production within its own frontiers but nevertheless had to import goods from there and export raw materials to very low prices.

As long as Russia's face was turned towards Europe, these considerations did not matter much, but they are felt all the more acutely now that the economy of the Soviet Union is definitely planned.

8. The Ukrainian idea of economy

421 with its championship of private property was always entirely different from the "mir" idea, with its farming in common and periodical division of the soil which was characteristic for Russian economy. Exceptions within Ukrainian territory, due to special conditions of time and place, do not alter this fundamental fact.
[566] That serfdom should have been abolished so late was felt to be a great burden by the Ukrainian who had enjoyed personal freedom in his days of political independence. He always connected serfdom with Russian rule which naturally did not help to mitigate his aversion to everything Russian.

433 In national Ukrainian literature, the relationship of different branches of economy is often discussed. It is often maintained that up to the present, development has been along the lines of

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

63/ in localities where non-Ukrainian elements predominate—Great Russians, White Russians, Greeks, Germans, Moldavians, Jews.

The largest towns of Soviet Ukraine are Kiev (625,000), Kharkov (650,000), Odessa (550,000), Dniepropetrovsk (former Ekaterinoslav, 325,000). Lvov, in 'Greater Ukraine', recently annexed to Soviet Ukraine, has 375,000 inhabitants. It is characteristic of current economic trends that the population has grown in Kharkov and decreased in Odessa (700,000 in 1916). Industrial centres have grown rapidly: Lugansk, Mariupol, Zaporozhie (formerly Alexandrovsk) have each of them over 100,000 inhabitants; Nikolaev and Kherson have each about 100,000. There are no large towns in Central and Western Ukraine: the most important of them, Vinnitsa and Poltava, have not more than 80,000 inhabitants each. Now we have Czernowitz (Chernovtsy), Kishinev and Jassy, each about 120,000.

The Population of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic

● 161 The Census of 1 January 1933 gave the population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. as 31,901,000 persons. The figures for the more recent Census of 1937 are not sufficiently clear. (It is well known that the Government was displeased at the incompetent way in which this latter Census was carried out, and Stalin himself has expressed his dissatisfaction.) At any rate it is not denied that the increase of population in the Ukraine during the five years 1933–7 was at a rate lower than that for the whole Union calculated (with obvious exaggeration) at 16 per cent. The rate of increase in the Ukraine was considerably lower than in many of the eastern parts of the Union, notably Turkestan and the Kirghiz steppe—for which the obviously fantastic figures of 30 per cent and even 40 per cent were given. For the Ukraine the official increase was 6·6 per cent. On the basis of the figures for 1933, therefore, the population, allowing for increase, amounts to about 34,000,000 for 1938–9.

On the same territory about 30,000,000 people lived in 1917. In view of the fact that the normal increase in Russia before the Revolution was reckoned at 1·5 per cent p.a. and in some localities at 2 per cent p.a., the population of the Ukraine, under the social and political conditions existing under the Imperial régime, should have reached about 40,000,000 by the present day, even had there been a continuance of the movement of migration to Asiatic Russia which marked the turn of the century.

The history of the growth of population in the Ukraine during the last twenty years is of course far more complex than the bare figures would indicate. There was a terrible mortality, owing first to the Revolution and Civil War, and secondly to the two periods of famine and to the general deterioration in social and sanitary conditions. Again, parallel to a considerable migration of the peasantry, particularly during the famine periods, there was a constant flow of industrial workers from the north as a result of the Economic Plans. It is difficult therefore to avoid the following conclusions: that the growth of population during the two decades since the Revolution has been abnormally slow, but at the same time the change in the *composition* of the population has been rapid. The Ukrainians were continually disappearing or leaving their homeland while new elements were replacing them, mostly 'new-comers' from Central and Northern Russia.

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

It is important to ascertain the number of Ukrainians who remain in the territory of S.S.R. Ukraine. According to Soviet statistics the urban population, amounting to 8,000,000, numbers only 30 per cent of Ukrainians. Among the rural population Ukrainians are in a majority, though they are not everywhere equally distributed: in some regions there are over 80 per cent; in others (like Odessa) 60 per cent; in the Doners rural areas a little over 50 per cent. In 1926, during the period of 'ukrainization' encouraged by the Government, 24,000,000 out of 30,000,000 registered as Ukrainians, but even 15 per cent of these 'native' Ukrainians gave their mother tongue as Russian. Since that date catastrophes have befallen the rural folk of the Ukraine: about 3,000,000 are reckoned to have perished during the famine of the early thirties, and another 2,000,000 certainly have migrated as a result of conditions which they found intolerable. These losses have not been wholly replaced by natural increase, and there is every reason to think that the number of 'native' Ukrainians in the rural population of the Republic has decreased since 1930 by at least 4,000,000. If at that time the number of persons speaking Ukrainian and considering themselves to be Ukrainians amounted to 20,000,000, there can scarcely be more than 16,000,000 peasants left now. If to these are added the number of Ukrainians living in the towns, the total probably amounts to about 18,000,000. In other words, the Ukrainian population of Soviet Ukraine (before the incorporation of Eastern Galicia) amounted to little more than half of the total population.

This figure is eloquent: the Soviet Government has gone a long way to achieve the result towards which its policy was directed, and in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Ukrainians can no longer be considered to be in a great majority. It follows therefore that nearly half the population (16,000,000 to 17,000,000) are not Ukrainians. Among these alien elements a little less than 2,000,000 are Jews; about 1,000,000 are Moldavians; another million belong to different nationalities—White Russians, Poles, Greeks, Germans. The remaining 12,000,000 to 13,000,000 consist either of people born in the Ukraine who do not wish to consider themselves Ukrainians or of 'new-comers' from other parts of the Union. The number of these 'new-comers' must amount to 8,000,000 to 9,000,000.

It is notable that in the last years (since 1930) the Government has used every means to encourage the settlement of these 'new-comers' not only in the industrial areas but also in the purely rural districts. It is obvious that Moscow does not desire vast rural areas with an entirely homogeneous Ukrainian population. The Government prefers groups of *Kolkhozy* on Ukrainian territory to be constituted on the mosaic principle. Each year, from all the Military Districts of the Soviet Union, soldiers who have finished their military service and who have sent in petitions that on account of lack of land they do not wish to return to their original homes are drafted to the new Red Army *Kolkhozy*. These *Kolkhozy*, recruited from the variety of nationalities throughout the Union, are being scattered over some of the best land of the Ukrainian countryside. In some regions there are as many as ten of these military collectivized farms. Reference has already been made to the measures taken by the Government against the bourgeois *kolkhozniki* during the summer of 1939. A new 'movement' of the population is in view in

668* organizations, though agents were probably present.[79] The UNR, on the other hand, as will be described, was able to establish loose connections with a group which had been formed by nationalist youths in the remote Kostopol' (Kostopil')-Liudvipol' (Liudvypil') area near the former border between Polish and Soviet Volhynia.

626 The situation in Bukovina prior to June, 1940, had in many
668* respects closely paralleled that which existed in Galicia before
[161] September, 1939. The small Ukrainian population (about one quarter of a million persons) was subjected to a denationalizing policy by the Rumanian government, which included severe limitations on the use of Ukrainian in education and restriction of the press and of cultural activities. As in Galicia, there was a legal press and party, however, which endeavored to work within the scope permitted by the Rumanian authorities. There was also a fairly large section of the OUN, working underground. Corresponding —less closely—to Volhynia, was a considerable area of Ukrainian settlement in southern Bessarabia. This section of the Ukrainian ethnic group, however, was so backward culturally and so cut off geographically from contact with districts in which nationalism was strong that it appears to have played almost no role in the nationalist movements of the war period.

648 In June, 1940, while Germany was still occupied with the final phases of the French campaign, the Soviet Union began to press claims for territorial cessions from Rumania. It had long been recognized that Moscow would seize the first favorable moment to secure the retrocession of Bessarabia, the annexation of which by Rumania it had never recognized. Demands for Bukovina, however, apparently came as something of a shock to the German negotiators who were preparing a settlement of the Russian demands. They objected on the grounds that Bukovina had never been a part of the Russian Empire and that it contained a large

[79] Mel'nyk adherents have since claimed that their organizers who had been in Volhynia for a considerable time were killed by Bandera followers shortly before or after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war; see Mykhailiuk, p. 88; O. Shuliak, *V im'ia pravdy: Do istorii povstanoho rukhu v Ukraini* (In the Name of Truth: On the History of the Insurrectionary Movement in the Ukraine) (Rotterdam, 1947), p. 10.

161

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

p. 290

POPULATIONS OF UKRAINIAN CITIES

(in thousands)

	1926[a]			1939[a]	1941–42			1926	1941–42	*Ratio of increase of proportion of Ukrainians to Russians (Column 8: Column 7)*
	Total	*Ukrainians*	*Russians*	*Total*	*Total*	*Ukrainians*	*Russians*	*Ratio of Ukrainians to Russians*	*Ratio of Ukrainians to Russians*	
Kiev[b]	513.8	216.6	125.5	846.3	352.0	282.0	50.2	1.73	5.6	3.2
Kharkov[c]	417.3	160.2	154.4	833.4	450.0	290.0	150.0	1.04	1.9	1.8
Dniepropetrovsk[d]	232.9	83.8	73.4	500.7	234.2	164.1	52.0	1.14	3.16	2.8
Poltava[e]	92.0	62.8	8.1	130.3	68.7	64.0	4.7	7.75	13.6	1.8
Kirovograd[f]	66.5	29.6	16.6	100.3	68.1	62.4	4.0	1.78	15.6	8.8
Kherson[g]	58.8	21.1	21.2	97.2	61.4	50.7	8.4	.99	6.0	6.1
Zhitomir[h]	76.7	28.5	10.5	95.1	40.1	24.5	2.5	2.71	9.8	3.6
Vinnitsa[i]	58.0	23.9	8.0	92.9	35.6	24.1	3.8	2.99	6.34	2.1
Kamenets-Podolsk[j]	32.1	14.4	2.3	72.4	12.0	10.6	0.5	6.30	21.2	3.4
Chernigov[k]	35.2	20.1	3.6	67.4	30.0	27.0	3.0	5.58	9.0	1.6
Uman'[l]	44.8	19.3	2.0	....	20.0	18.9	0.5	9.65	38.2	4.0
Pavlograd[m]	18.8	11.5	2.6	....	....	(94.1%)	(5.3%)	4.43	17.8	4.0

161

[a] Statistics for 1926 are from Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Tsentralnoe Statisticheskoe Upravlenie, *Recensement de la Population de l'URSS*, XI, XII, XIII (Moscow, 1929): XI, 76–77 (Zhitomir) and 162–63 (Chernigov); XII, 27 (Kiev), 20–21 (Vinnitsa), 204–5 (Kamenets-Podolsk), 210–11 (Uman'), 299 (Poltava), and 310–11 (Kharkov); XIII, 13–14 (Kirovograd), 36–37 (Kherson), 248–49 (Dniepropetrovsk), and 308–9 (Pavlograd). The 1939 figures are from Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1946), pp. 250–53.

[b] *Nova Doba*, September 6, 1942, p. 3; *Nastup*, September 6, 1942, p. 2 (from *Dnipropetrovs'ka Hazeta*); Leontii Forostivs'kyi, *Kyiv pid vorozhymy okupatsiiamy* (Kiev under Enemy Occupations) (Buenos Aires: Mykola Denysiuk, 1952), p. 44. All of these reports are based on the city administration census of April 1, 1942. After that date, the population declined still more, but no later breakdown by nationalities is available.

[c] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, February 24, 1942, p. 2, based on a census taken by Professor Sosnovyi in December, 1941, evidently at the instance of the city administration. Only the proportion (65%) of the Ukrainians in the total population is given, but it has been assumed that the great majority of the remainder was Russian. The total population declined rapidly in the succeeding years, reaching a low of 200,000 after the German reconquest in March, 1943, of which 80 percent were Ukrainian according to their own declaration (interview with Mayor Semenenko in *L'vivs'ki Visti*, May 23–24, 1943).

[d] *Nastup*, February 22, 1942, p. 2, based on a city administration census. The figures include the suburb of Amur-Dniepropetrovsk. See also *Krakivs'ki Visti*, February 17, 1942, p. 5. Another report (*Ukrains'ka Diiisnist'*, February 1, 1942, p. 1) gives a total of 350,000, of which 300,000 were Ukrainian.

[e] *Ukrains'kyi Visnyk*, November 1, 1942, p. 7. Only the proportion of Ukrainians in the total (93.1%) is given, but, as in the case of Kharkov, it may be assumed that by the date of the count the vast majority of the remainder was Russian.

[f] *Ukrains'kyi Visnyk*, June 14, 1942, p. 7; *Ukrains'ka Diiisnist'*, July 10, 1942, p. 1; *Nastup*, July 12, 1942, p. 2, all based on census of the city administration.

[g] *Deutsche Pug-Zeitung*, July 22, 1942, p. 2; *Ukrains'kyi Visnyk*, September 6, 1942, p. 6.

[h] *Nastup*, December 27, 1941, p. 3. About 15.5 percent of the population was Polish; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 24, 1941, p. 2, based on a count by the police passport division, lists 2,000 Russians and 7,000 Poles in a total of 42,000.

[i] *Nastup*, February 1, 1942, p. 2, based on a census of January 1, 1942. About 6 percent of the total was Polish.

[j] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 25, 1942, p. 2, based on a census of the local administration.

[k] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, May 3, 1942, p. 4; *L'vivs'ki Visti*, April 11, 1942, p. 2, based on the first statistical reports of the city administration.

[l] *Ukrains'kyi Visnyk*, November 1, 1942, p. 7.

[m] *Ukrains'ka Diiisnist'*, February 10, 1943, p. 1.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

p 291

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

(the northern or southern limits of certain cultivations and of different methods of agricultural exploitation), of cattle-breeding (the predominance of cattle and of pigs in Zone 1 and of horses and sheep in Zone 2), of industry (metallurgy and other heavy industries in Zone 2 and light industry in Zone 1), or of communications, this border corresponds with undoubted economic realities.

Chance, or rather its geological structure, has decreed that Zone 2 should possess all the mineral riches of the Ukraine while Zone 1 has none except, however, an insignificant deposit of oil in Polish Galicia, near Stanislavov.

I

Population

As we have previously said, the population of the Ukraine is about 43,000,000, of whom 33·5 millions live within the frontiers of the Soviet Ukraine in the 11,500 parishes, 95 hamlets, and 90 towns.

Among all the Russian lands the Ukraine, with the industrial region of Moscow, is one of those with the densest population, especially in the region of Kiev and of Vinnitza, where the density reaches about 100 inhabitants to the square kilometre.

The average density of 70·6 inhabitants per square kilometre for the whole territory is almost the same in both zones, though a little higher in Zone 1, being from 65 to 87 with an average of 76 inhabitants per square kilometre, while Zone 2 has only 43 to 76, with an average of 65.

The least populated districts are the provinces of the south-east, the districts of Melitopol, Mariupol, and Lougansk, all in Zone 2.

Despite the small differences in the density of the

[see category 116) pp. 139-140. --- Analyst]

161 population in the two zones, the character and origin of this density are not the same.

162 361 The density in Zone 1 is characterized by an agrarian over-population, resulting from a long feudal period and the servitude of the lands. The population is concentrated there in a large number of hamlets, in small towns and in small villages, the inhabitants adding to their agricultural revenues those of artisans, of small commerce, and of small industries.

There is almost a complete absence of large towns. Actually the whole of Zone 1 within Soviet boundaries, contains only one town whose population exceeds 100,000—Kiev, the administrative capital of the Ukraine (625,000 inhabitants).

Even if one adds Polish Galicia to this territory, as it is wholly part of Zone 1, we find only one other big town—Lvov, with 325,000 inhabitants, an administrative and cultural centre.

In Zone 2 on the contrary, we find three big towns: Kharkov (650,000 inhabitants), Odessa (550,000 inhabitants), and Dniepropetrovsk (375,000 inhabitants).

Apart from these three large towns, Zone 2 possesses a further four towns whose population exceeds 100,000: Nicolaiev, Mariupol, Zaporojie, and Lougansk.

The greater part of Zone 2 is a land of recent colonization. It is the New Russia and the free Ukraine, colonized during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Great Russian and Ukrainian elements.

The agricultural population is of a lesser density, and if the average number which expresses it is the same for the whole territory as for Zone 1 this is only a result of the greater number of large towns.

162 It would not be useless to point out that before the last war Odessa with her 700,000 inhabitants was the largest town of the Ukraine. But since the beginning

[see category 116, pp. 139-140. --- Analyst]

8: Fedenko H-4, 5 (no date) 1951 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Soviet Union R1

INTRODUCTION

The author of this book is a historian. He has taken part in the Ukrainian national revolution from 1917 on. The book has been written to fix facts that are very often forgotten in the world, or are given a false interpretation in the various books on the Eastern European problem.

The principal fact from which the whole fatal conflict between Ukraine and Soviet Russia arises is that Ukraine has a democratic tradition created by the preceding historical evolution. Modern Russia is a continuation of the Muscovite Tsardom that has grown on the foundations of eastern despotism. For this reason Russia has not created a democratic tradition of its own up to this day and has a "considerable lack of European tradition", as it has been stated by the well known Russian historian Klyuchevsky. Therefore Communist dictatorship so easily seized power in Russia after the revolution of 1917, while the other peoples of the former Tsarist Empire, Ukrainians, Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, etc., created democratic states of their own.

The tragedy of the unhappy neighbours of Russia is that Russian imperialism in the past and present times has been principally directed against them, has enslaved and even exstirpated them.

The Ukrainian nation occupies a particular place in Eastern Europe both by its number, circa 35 millions, and by its geographical position, and especially by its large natural resources*). The famous British political writer Professor R. W. Seton-Watson states that the Ukrainian problem has been one of the reasons for World War I 1914—1918. It is generally known that the conquest of Ukraine was the principal aim for Hitler's 'Pressure to the East'. Thus World War II had the struggle for Ukraine as one of its reasons too.

We are living in a time when imperialism is being condemned as one of the greatest evils to mankind, but we see at the same time

*) The most important natural riches of Ukraine are: coal (Donets Bassin), iron ore (Krivoy Rog), oil (Boryslaw), manganese (Nikopol). The export of grain from Ukraine to Western Europe until 1914 was higher than 5,5 mil. tons per year. The production of sugar and spirit was very important. The export of agricultural products from Tsarist Russia came in its great part from Ukraine.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

161 Since the official census of 1897 various official estimates of the population in the Ukraine have been issued; they do not distinguish between the different branches of Russians. According to the official estimates of January 1912 and 1915 the totals for the nine Governments in the Ukraine were as follows:

	1912.	1915.
Volhynia	3,995,700	4,241,800
Podolia	3,882,700	4,127,600
Kiev	4,635,700	4,988,000
Chernigov	3,083,500	3,148,900
Poltava	3,673,100	3,906,200
Kharkov	3,329,700	3,452,000
Yekaterinoslav	3,214,900	3,537,300
Kherson	3,547,500	3,806,900
Taurida (without the Crimea) [1]	982,800	1,066,650
Total	30,345,600	32,275,350

163 It is well known that the birth-rate of the Little Russians is higher and steadier than that of the Great Russians. But, even allowing for a mere continuance since 1897 of the same ratio between the two, the total of Little Russians in the Ukraine in 1912 can be fairly estimated at 23,500,000.

There are also large numbers of Little Russians in other Governments of Russia. Figures for these Governments in 1897 were as follows:

Government.	*Total Population.*	*Little Russians.*	*Per-centage.*
Grodno	1,603,409	363,000	23
Kursk	2,371,012	527,778	22
Voronezh	2,531,253	915,883	36
Bessarabia	1,935,412	379,698	20
Kuban Province (Caucasus)	1,918,881	908,818	48
Stavropol (Caucasus)	873,301	319,817	37

In the same year there were also 719,655 Little Russians in the Don Territory, 133,115 in the Government of Astrakhan, 76,928 in other parts of the Cau-

[1] The birth-rate has been more rapid on the mainland than in the Crimea; hence 50 per cent. of the population is allowed to Taurida alone.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

casus, and 304,261 in parts of the old Governments of Lublin and Syedlets (now incorporated in the single Government of Cholm). Thus in 1897 there was in European Russia a grand total of at least 21,692,766 Little Russians.

Austria and Hungary also contain considerable numbers of Little Russians, or as they are often called in these parts, Ruthenians. Official figures of 1910 give 3,208,092 in Galicia, 305,101 in the Bukovina, and 472,587 in certain north-eastern counties in Hungary, i. e. a total of 3,985,780 Little Russians.

Accurate statistics for the full, up-to-date total of Little Russians are not available. Reliable German figures estimate the present total of Little Russians as at least 30,000,000, which is also borne out by unofficial Little Russian and Polish figures.

Language

The whole language question has been somewhat exaggerated owing to its inevitable connexion with politics. It is asserted by many that Little Russian is a separate language from Great Russian, though on the other hand many declare that it is only a dialect. It should be noted that in 1905 the Petrograd Academy of Science recognized the value of the study of the Ukraine dialect.

(6) Population[1]

Distribution and Density

The *Russian Year Book* for 1916 gives the following estimate for the total population in the towns and in the country respectively on January 1, 1913:

Government.	*Town Population.*	*Country Population.*
Volhynia	293,300	3,777,200
Podolia	308,900	3,646,400
Kiev	744,500	3,919,100
Chernigov	321,100	2,787,700

[1] See also Appendix I, p.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Government.	Town Population.	Country Population.
Poltava	363,500	3,352,900
Kharkov	516,200	2,851,500
Yekaterinoslav	406,500	2,883,600
Kherson	1,017,500	2,592,800
Taurida (with the Crimea)	447,200	1,559,300

It is apparent from these figures that a large proportion of the population of the Ukraine is still engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Many parts of the Ukraine are very thickly populated. The most densely populated Governments are as follows: Podolia, 243; Kiev, 236; Poltava, 192; Chernigov, 154; Kharkov, 160; Volhynia, 146; Yekaterinoslav, 135; and Kherson, 132 persons per square mile.

Movement

The population of the Ukraine increases more steadily than that of Great Russia. The following figures are given by the official statistical annual (1914) for the year 1912:

	Births. total.	Births. per 1,000.	Deaths. total.	Deaths. per 1,000.	Increase. per 1,000.
Volhynia	154,685	39·0	72,287	18·1	20·9
Podolia	145,401	37·4	73,254	18·9	18·5
Kiev	182,024	39·3	92,109	19·9	19·4
Chernigov	116,411	37·8	59,972	19·5	18·3
Poltava	136,951	37·3	64,801	17·6	19·7
Kharkov	151,064	45·4	73,349	22·0	23·4
Yekaterinoslav	159,233	49·5	72,995	22·7	26·8
Kherson	157,622	44·4	92,227	26·0	18·4
Taurida	85,913	43·7	44,080	22·4	21·3

The average mortality is lower in the towns than in the country, owing to the fact that the more robust elements of the population are attracted to the towns, leaving the old men, women, and children behind.

Infant mortality is often as high as 50 per cent.; this is due to ignorance, insufficient feeding, and the fact that mothers return to work in the fields or factories within a few days of child-birth. The imperfect system of medical aid prevents many cases of births and deaths from ever being officially reported.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Yekaterinoslav, 5 per cent.; Poltava, 4 per cent.; Taurida, 4 per cent.; Kharkov, 0·5 per cent. only.

Like the Orthodox Church, the Jewish community has its sects. There are two such sects in the Ukraine; and their members exercise a great moral influence, and form a bridge between the Turkish and Jewish populations of the Ukraine. They are called Karaimy and Krymchaki, and live chiefly in the towns of the Taurida and Kherson Governments. They number about 12,000. These people, using mostly Tatar dialects, are supposed to be descendants of Jewish pre-Christian colonies in the Crimea and the Turkic Khazars of the Middle Ages, who were of Jewish faith. The Karaimy disapprove of the Talmud, and base all their beliefs on the Law of Moses. They differ from other Jewish communities in their cleanliness, their absolute honesty in business, and their great sense of social duties. Hence their wealth is evenly distributed in their communities.

(c) *Mohammedans.*—The largest Mohammedan colony is found in the Taurida government (187,940, or 13 per cent.), but their schools are less efficient and their culture is much lower than that of the Mohammedans of the Volga or of Turkestan.

(B) Educational

The last census, taken in 1897,[1] gives the following figures:

Name of Government.	*Total population in 1,000's.*	*No. of literates in 1,000's.*	*Per cent. of literates.*
Podolia . .	3,018	450	14·5
Kharkov . .	2,492	384	15·4
Poltava . .	2,778	446	16·1
Volhynia . .	2,989	493	16·5
Kiev . . .	3,559	598	16·8
Chernigov . .	2,298	402	17·5
Yekaterinoslav .	2,114	433	20·5
Kherson . .	2,734	657	24·1
Taurida . .	1,448	380	26·2
	23,430	4,243	average 18·2

[1] From *The Ukrainian Movement as a Stage in South Russian Separatism*, Shchegolev (Kiev, 1912), p. 364.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

APPENDIX

I

NUMBER OF THE UKRAINIANS[1]

ACCORDING to the census of 1897, there were 23,430,000 Ukrainians in the nine Ukrainian Governments of Russia. The number accepted by the Russian Academy of Science in their report relating to the Ukrainian language is 22,700,000 (also based on the census of 1897). Prof. Hrushevski in his popular history of the Ukraine in Ukrainian ('How the Ukrainian People live'), published in 1915, says that there are altogether some 30,000,000 Ukrainians, of whom 25,000,000 are—or were—Russian subjects. According to Dr. Paul Ostwald (*Die Ukraine und die Ukrainische Bewegung*, 1916, p. 8), who takes his statistics from the *Revue Ukrainienne*, August, 1915, there are

4,220,000	Ukrainians	in	Austria-Hungary.
29,435,000	,,	,,	Russia.
760,000	,,	,,	America.
34,415,000			

This means that out of every thirty-eight Ukrainians, thirty are Russian. The two following tables give an idea of the distribution of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian Governments of Russia:

	1897.[2]		1910.[3]	
	Per cent. of Ukrainians.	*No. of Inhabitants.*	*Per cent. of Ukrainians.*	*No. of Inhabitants.*
Volhynia .	70	2,989,000	70	3,850,000
Podolia . .	81	3,018,000	81	3,030,000
Kiev . . .	80	3,559,000	79	4,570,000
Chernigov .	66	2,298,000	86	2,980,000
Poltava . .	93	2,778,000	95	3,580,000
Kharkov .	80	2,492,000	70	3,250,000
Yekaterinoslav	69	2,114,000	69	3,000,000
Kherson . .	54	2,734,000	54	3,450,000
Taurida . .	41	1,448,000	42	1,880,000

[1] See also p. 12. [2] Shchegolev, p. 364.
[3] Rudnyčkyj, p. 91.

The maximal result means that the Ukrainians in /62 these maximal boundaries have partly an absolute, partly a relative majority. The Ukrainians have an absolute majority in a total of 718,300 square kilometers on which there are 47,657 million inhabitants. (4)

4. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 19.

Within the wider boundaries there are 30.2% foreign minorities, and in the narrower boundaries, 24.7%. (5)

5. Kubyievych: Geography of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 305 ff.

In 1933 there was a total of 43,360,000 Ukrainians throughout the world; of these 34.43 million were in the Soviet Union, 5.87 million in Poland, 1.1 million in Rumania (including Bessarabia and Bukovina), and 590,000 in Czechoslovakia. The remainder were Ukrainians living outside the country. (6) According to the well-known Ukrainian [101]

6. Ibid., page 325.

geographer Kubyievych, the Ukrainian racial /14/ boundary is difficult to determine in the eastern part of the Caucasian foreland where, besides Ukrainians, there are also Russian and Caucasian peoples, and on the northern boundary, where in the region of Chernigov the question is disputed as to whether the inhabitants are Ukrainians, Russians or White Russians. If we distribute the /61 54,870,000 inhabitants of the entire Ukrainian settled area over the 938,000 square kilometers of surface, 58.5 souls accrue to one square kilometer, while the number is 67.3 if we do not include the thinly populated mixed area of the eastern

161 Caucasian foreland. (7) This corresponds roughly

7. Kubyietych: The Distribution of Population in the Ukraine, page 11.

to the density of population in the Balkan countries.

133 The geographers have investigated the surface of the Ukrainian provinces and found that only 1.5% of the entire surface is more than 1000 meters high, barely 3.5% over 500 meters and 68.5% between 100 and 300 meters. Scarcely 1% of the Ukrainian population live in actual mountains, and surely more than half of all Ukrainians have never seen any mountains. (8)

8. Kubyievych: The Geography of the Ukrainian and the Bordering Areas, page 65.

132 For decades scholars studied the climate, measured precipitation, heat and cold, and did not forget to check from what direction the wind blows. When they had made sufficient investigations, they established the fact that the Ukraine has an "oak climate", specifically in the damp, moderately cold northern and central Ukraine. Adjacent to this in the south is the "dry climate" zone with little precipitation, where there is less rain the farther southeast one goes. Moreover, geographers feel that it is significant that the Ukraine, along with the Carpathians, the Yaila Mountains in the Crimea, and the Caucasus have a mountain climate and that the southern shore of the Crimean Peninsula and the eastern coast of the Black Sea have a Mediterranean climate. Whereas the Ukrainians of the north would gladly renounce some of the 600 millimeters and more of precipitation which annually flood their fields, those of the south call upon God and all the spirits to send them a little more than their 200 millimeters of rain. But it need

433 of the working time in July of this year...The Stalingrad plant presents a similar picture." (131) Where there is no needle there are no

131. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 25.

clothes. Pravda of May 8, 1939, criticizes the decrease in coal mining in the Donbas as follows: "The mine which determines the fate of the entire trust is behind schedule. It would seem as though the scandalous production which has lasted for a considerable time now would have been given serious consideration. The management of the mine is now trying to explain the poor production by the fact that the workers are leaving in order to attend to their spring planting." Visti of June 10, 1939, supplements this by reporting that the constant decrease of coal mining in the Donets Basin is forcing the economic management of Soviet Ukraine to increase the production of brown coal and turf.

*

562 By reason of the Soviet Constitution, the
461 East Ukrainian woman has an equal position with
594 the man. This means that she has the same meager
[465] rights and the same heavy duties. Since the wages of the man are not adequate to support the family, the woman must also earn some of the daily bread. Thus the woman is a worker. The elimination of Sundays and holidays, the long trips to work, the standing-in-line for hours to get food, the shifting of days off in the different plants, the incredible housing shortage, the rearing of children in institutions, the easy divorces of "couples living together" - all this disrupts the family.
594 The devastating consequences which are bound to
161 result from the disregard /181/ of the family,

594 this seed of all political life, may be surmised
161 from the census of January 1939. On the basis of the estimated increase during the period of the New Economic Policy, the Soviet Union should have had 183 million inhabitants. Instead there were 170 million all told. There are 13 million souls missing - twice the number of the Czech nation!

462 The book entitled 'Woman in Socialistic Ukraine which appeared in Kiyev in 1937, tells of the triumphs of the Ukrainian woman, not in love and not in the family, but in the field of industry. According to this book, the Ukrainian woman has already "conquered" her position in all branches of industry, coal mines not excepted. In 1936, women comprised the following percentages of the total number of workers: in the building industry 18.3 percent, in the mining industry 26.3 percent, in the chemical industry 26.3 percent in the iron-industry 20.9 percent, and in the construction of machines 21.1 percent. There were 14,274 women engineers and technicians in 1936, and nearly half of the total number of physicians were women (9398). Moreover, the woman of Soviet Ukraine - always according to this book - takes an active part in the defense of the state as pilot, teacher, auto technician, as members of the parachute troops and so forth.

[29] On the subject ot the wardrobe of these industrious workers it is divulged that 37 percent of all Ukrainian women own two or more coats, 24.4 percent own two or more cloth or silk dresses, 40.5 percent have five changes of underwear and 38.7 percent have two or more pairs of leather shoes. It is taken for granted that all the other women have only one coat, one cloth or silk dress, one pair of shoes and no more than four changes of underwear.

And their feminine ambition? "Hanna Bondarenko, railroad engineer on the line 'Voroshilov',

TABLE I

Area and Population of the Ukrainian S.S.R., 1939-40

	Area (thousand square kilometres)	Population (millions)
131 161 Area Ukrainian S.S.R. January 1939	469.7	30.96
Territories added:		
Western Ukraine (added November 1939)	88.0	8.0
Part of Bessarabia	15.3	1.05
Northern Bukovina (both added June 1940)	6.0	0.5
	579.0	40.51
Territories transferred:		
Part of the Moldavian A.S.S.R. (together with part of Bessarabia, created the Moldavian S.S.R., August 1940)	3.9	0.31
Totals August 1940	575.1	40.20

Source : Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S. Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

728 131 161 In June 1945 the Transcarpathian Ukraine was ceded by Czechoslovakia to the Ukrainian S.S.R. This transfer added about 12,600 square kilometres area and a population of about 750,000. The details of the various cessions of territory are given below.

Soviet-Polish Frontiers

In the autumn of 1939, after the collapse of the Polish State and the occupation of Western Poland by German troops, the Soviet Government decided to take under its protection the life and property of the population of Eastern Poland, that is, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, inhabited mainly by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. When they were seized by Poland in 1920, these territories were ethnographically and economically part of the Soviet Union. Their return to the Soviet Union increased the area and population of the Byelorussian S.S.R. by 108,000 square kilometres and 4.8 million inhabitants; and of the Ukraine, by 88,000 square kilometres and 8 million people.

In August 1945, a slight adjustment of frontiers took place between Poland and the Soviet Union. A treaty was signed which, in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference in February 1945, established the Polish-Soviet boundary roughly along the Curzon Line, with some deviations in favour of Poland. As a result of this, Poland was given back a small strip of the territory which had been incorporated in the Soviet Union in 1939.

Moldavia

635 648 The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was created on August 2, 1940 by the decree of the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. This Republic consists of a part of the former Moldavian Autonomous S.S. Republic and of a section of Bessarabia incorporated into the Soviet Union. [131 161] The creation of this new Union Republic decreased the Ukrainian S.S.R. by 3,900 square kilometres and a population of 310,000 persons[1].

The Transcarpathian Ukraine[2]

728 In June 1945 an agreement was signed in Moscow between the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic that the Transcarpathian Ukraine "...which on the basis of a pact of September 10, 1919, concluded at St.Germain-en-Laye, entered the Czechoslovak Republic with the rank of an Autonomous Republic, will, according to the wish manifested by the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine and on the basis of the friendly agreement of both high contracting parties, unite with its longstanding motherland, the Ukraine, and is included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The frontier between Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine, existing since September 29, 1938, will, with modifications described, become the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic..."

Article II of the protocol appended to the Pact said that:

"Persons of Ukrainian and Russian nationality living in Czechoslovak territory have the right to opt for Soviet citizenship until January 1, 1946... Czech and Slovak nationals residing or having their permanent domicile in the territory of the Carpatho-Ukraine have the right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality during the time until January 1, 1946".[3]

131 311 On January 1, 1935, the area of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 12,617 square kilometres. In 1937 about half of this was covered by forests and woods; roughly 239,000 hectares were arable, and about 328,000 hectares were devoted to vineyards, market gardens, and permanent meadows and pastures.

161 As at December 1, 1930, the population of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 725,357, an increase of nearly 121,000 over February 1921.[4]

---

1 Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S.Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

2 Called by the Czechs, Sub-Carpathian Rus, or Carpatho-Ukraine.

3 New York Times quoted by Voices of History (1945-46), Gramercy Publishing Company, New York.

4 Statistical Handbook of Czechoslovak Republic, London.

UKRAINE RD1

THE UKRAINE

The history of the Western Ukraine between the two wars thus contains abundant evidence that the union of Western Ukraine with the Soviet Ukraine had nothing in common with the spontaneous wishes of the populations concerned.

The annexation of the Western Ukraine was carried out in three stages. First, 1939 saw the occupation by the Red Army of the Ukrainian territories of Poland with 7,000,000 Ukrainians according to Ukrainian statistics, and 5,000,000 Ukrainians according to Polish statistics. Secondly, 1940 brought the establishment of Soviet Ukrainian rule over 1,000,000 Ukrainians of Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia following an ultimatum to Rumania. Finally, in 1945 the union with the Transcarpathian Ukraine was established and 500,000 more Ukrainians were 'liberated'.

The economic importance of the 50,000 square miles which the Soviet Union annexed as 'Western Ukrainian territories' is comparatively slight. The only real assets were the oil and natural gas riches of Eastern Galicia. The Eastern Galician oil-wells were, however, showing clear signs of exhaustion, since their production had sunk from 1,047,000 tons in 1913 to 601,000 tons in 1929 and to 353,000 tons in 1938. Soviet economists thought at first that this decrease was simply due to Polish capitalist inefficiency and predicted that the establishment of the Soviet régime in Eastern Galicia would lead to an increase of the oil production.[12] But in this they seem to have been mistaken, since the oil target figure for 1950 for the whole of the Ukraine was but 325,000 tons. The Soviet régime was more lucky with the natural gas deposits of Dashava than with the oil of Drogobych and Borislav as was shown by the building of a 300-mile-long gas pipeline linking Dashava with Kiev.

From the geopolitical point of view two of the new Ukrainian territories deserve particular attention: Southern Bessarabia – now the Izmail Province of the Soviet Ukraine – securing Soviet Russia an access to the Danube Delta, thus making her a Danubian power, and the Transcarpathian Ukraine, allowing her to be a factor in the Danubian basin.

TRANSCARPATHIAN UKRAINE

The annexation of Southern Bessarabia simply meant that Russia had recovered one of the territories which she had lost after the October Revolution, but Transcarpathia was a new asset which the Russian Empire had never before possessed.

Militarily, Russia obtained an area south of the Carpathians big enough with its 4,400 square miles for large-scale troop concentrations and an ideal initial basis for operations against a hostile Slovakia or